

Message Text

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ACTION NEA-12

INFO OCT-01 EUR-25 ISO-00 OPR-02 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-07

H-03 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-07 PA-04 RSC-01 PRS-01

SP-03 SS-20 USIA-15 AID-20 IO-14 OMB-01 NIC-01 CU-04

COME-00 EB-11 LAB-06 SIL-01 DRC-01 PC-04 A-01 OC-06

CCO-00 SCCT-02 SCS-03 SCA-01 SY-03 /193 W

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R 051805Z APR 74

FM AMEMBASSY NEW DELHI

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 718

AMEMBASSY LONDON

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE NEW DELHI 4647

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PINT, IN

SUBJECT: BIHAR

FOLLOWING TEL CALCUTTA 0647 DATED 03 APR 74 REPEATED
YOU:

QUOTE

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE CALCUTTA 0647

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS :# PINT, IN

SUBJECT : BIHAR

REF : LONDON 3995

1. WHAT THE CALCUTTA BRITISH DEPUTY HIGH COMMISSION HAS BEEN
SUGGESTING IN ITS REPORTING (REFTEL) IS THAT THE SITUATION IN BIHAR
IS

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EXPLOSIVE AND UNCERTAIN AND GOVT PRESS RELEASES ANNOUNCING NORMAL

CONDITIONS SHOULD NOT BE TAKEN SERIOUSLY (EXCEPT AS REFLECTIONS OF WHAT THE GOVT WISHES WERE TRU). WE SHARE THIS VIEW AND AFTER SOME SIFTING AND SORTING OF CONTRADICTORY STORIES AND BASED NOW ON SOME FIRST-HAND ACCOUNTS OF HAPPENINGS IN VARIOUS PARTS OF THE STATE WE HAVE THE FOLLOWING COMMENT TO MAKE.

2. THERE APPEAR TO BE TWO MAJOR GROUPINGS AT WORK IN THE REVOLT. ONE IS THE OPPOSITION PARTIES, THE CONGRESS DISSIDENTS, THE RURAL GENTRY AND THE STUDENT YOUTH WINGS (FRONTS) OF EACH (MANY OF THESE CATEGORIES OVERLAP). THIS IS THE COMPLEX MOSAIC DESCRIBED IN NEW DELHI 4043 WITH WHICH WE CONCURRED. IT HAS ALSO BEEN GRAPHICALLY DETAILED IN THE HINDU'Y STORY OF MARCH 27 ("BIHAR VIOLENCE WAS PRE-PLANNED").

3. THE SECOND GROUPING IS MORE NEBULOUS, ALTHOUGH LESS VARIOUS, THAN THE FIRST, BUT WE ARE CONVINCED AS ARE OUR BRITISH COLLEAGUES HERE THAT THERE IS A LARGE AND STILL VERY ANGRY STUDENT/YOUTH MASS WHICH IS NOT CONTROLLED,HDIRECTED OR FINANCED BY ANY OF THE GROUPS OTED ABOVE. THEY DON'T APPEAR TO BE AS WELL ORGANIZED AS THEIR GUJARATI COUNTERPARTS BUT WE ARE NOT CONVINCED THAT THIS IS BECAUSE OF THE INHERENT FACTIONALISM OR ENDEMIC CASTE-CONSCOUSNESS OF BIHARIS

.
RATHER IT IS BECAUSE OF PPOR COMMUNICATION OVER A LARGE STATE, LACK OF PRE-PLANNED COORDINATION (AS DISTINCT FROM THE FORMER GROUP'S ORGANIZATION) AND A STILL -CONTINUING CONFUSION OVEG WHAT TO DO (I.E., WHAT GOALS ARE WORTH PURSUING?).

4. 4. BOTH THE CENTER AND GHAFOOR CAN COPE WITH THE FORMER GROUP BECAUSE THEY ARE KNOWN FORCES AND INDIVIDUALS WHO, WITHOUT ANY KNOWN EXCEPTION, ARE VENAL. HOWEVER, THE LATTER GROUP MUST BE A FRIGHTENING ONE FOR THE POWERS THAT BE. IT MAY BE THAT THE COMBINATION OF FORCE AND EDUCATIONA/POLITICAL CONCESSIONS BEING PLANNED MAY PLACATETHE SECOND GROUP TOO BUT IT WILL NOT BE BECAUSE RAM LAKHAN SINGH YADAV, THE CPI, THE SOCIALISTS, JAN SANG, CONGRESS O, ETC., CALL THEM OFF. IT WILL BE BECAUSE THEY ARE NOT WELL-ORGANIZED, THEY ARE NOT YET SERIOUS REVOLUTIONAIRES AND THEY MAY THINK THAT THESYSTEM IS NOT BEYONDREFORM, ON THE OTHER HAND, THERE ARE MANY YOUTHS WHO ALSO ARE NOT SERIOUS REVO-LUTIONARIES BUT WHO DO BELIEVE THE SYSTEM BEYOND REFORM AND WHO ARE NOT YET IN A STATE OF CYNICAL APATHY LIKE THEIR PARENTS.
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THEIR NUMBERS
ARE UNKNOWN AND THEIR WILL TO PERSEVERE IN THE FACE OF
FORCEFUL REPRESSION REMAINS TO BE SEEN. THEY ARE THE GROUP TO
WATCH. EVERYTHING ELSE THAT WE'VE HEARD ABOUT IS MANAGEABLE
IN CONVENTIONAL POLITICAL TERMS.

5. A FURTHERINTANGIBLE, HOWEVER, IS THE ROLE JAY PRAKASH NARAYAN
WILL PLAY. IF HE FOLLOWS THROUGH ON THIS THREAT TO LEAD THE PLANNED

ANTI-GOVT DEMONSTRATION ON APRIL 8, IT IS DIFFICULT TO IMAGINE
FORCE BEING APPLIED AGAINST HIM WITHOUT THE MOST SERIOUS AND
FAR-REACHING CONSEQUENCES (DESPITE MRS. GANDHI'S RECENT FRENETIC
ATTEMPTS TO DISCREDIT HIM).

6. ALL IN ALL, A FRAGILE SITUATION WITH CONSIDERABLE POTENTIAL FOR
FURTHER, LARGE-SCALE VIOLENCE.
PICKERING UNQUOTE
SCHNEIDER

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